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Interviews: 1,011 adults  
Dates: September 3-5, 2002

48 Male  
52 Female  
[109]

## FINAL

Study #6027  
NBC/WSJ Survey  
September 2002

*Please note: all results are shown as percentages unless otherwise stated.*

**The margin of error for 1,011 interviews is  $\pm 3.1\%$**

*Unless otherwise noted by a "+", all previous data shown reflects responses among all adults.*

1. All in all, do you think that things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>9/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>	<u>High</u> <u>9/01</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>7/92+</u>	
Right direction.....	42	40	52	53	62	70	72	43	72	14	[138]
Wrong track.....	43	42	31	28	20	15	11	39	11	71	
Mixed (VOL).....	12	14	14	15	14	12	11	14	11	9	
Not sure.....	3	4	3	4	4	3	6	4	6	6	
		<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>	<u>1/01</u>	<u>12/00</u>	<u>10/00+</u>	<u>9/00+</u>	<u>7/00+</u>	<u>6/00+</u>	<u>4/00+</u>	
		47	52	45	39	48	51	48	44	44	
		39	32	36	43	32	29	32	38	34	
		11	11	15	14	18	16	17	15	19	
		3	5	4	4	2	4	3	3	3	

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

- 2a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing as president?

	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>5/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	
Approve.....	64	67	69	75	74	82	85	[139]
Disapprove.....	30	27	23	18	20	13	11	
Not sure.....	6	6	8	7	6	5	4	
		<u>11/01</u>	<u>9/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>		
		88	82	50	56	57		
		7	12	35	30	22		
		5	6	15	14	21		

2b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing in handling the economy?

	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	
Approve.....	48	49	57	61	63	[140]
Disapprove.....	43	43	34	30	27	
Not sure.....	9	8	9	9	10	
		<u>12/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>	
		63	50	51	52	
		25	38	33	27	
		12	12	16	21	

2c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing in handling our foreign policy?

	<u>9/02*</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	
Approve.....	55	62	64	68	81	[141]
Disapprove.....	34	28	28	26	13	
Not sure.....	11	10	8	6	6	
		<u>12/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>	
		82	50	63	53	
		12	32	26	20	
		6	18	11	27	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

3a. When it comes to dealing with the war on terrorism, do you approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing?

	<u>9/02**</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>5/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	
Approve.....	67	73	75	75	76	[142]
Disapprove.....	26	22	20	18	19	
Not sure.....	7	5	5	7	5	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

3b. When it comes to handling the problems of the financial markets and major corporations, do you approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing?

	<u>9/02*</u>	<u>7/02</u>	
Approve.....	46	40	[143]
Disapprove.....	41	46	
Not sure.....	13	14	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

4. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

	<u>9/02**</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>6/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>	<u>High</u> <u>9/98</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>10/90+</u>	
Approve.....	40	34	43	54	57	47	43	45	61	22	[144]
Disapprove.....	44	48	41	29	29	34	33	32	28	69	
Not sure.....	16	18	16	17	14	19	24	23	11	9	
		<u>1/01</u>	<u>12/00</u>	<u>10/00+</u>	<u>9/00+</u>	<u>7/00+</u>	<u>6/00+</u>	<u>4/00+</u>	<u>3/00+</u>	<u>1/00</u>	
		48	55	49	46	46	43	42	43	48	
		35	30	35	41	42	46	44	40	36	
		17	15	16	13	12	11	14	17	16	
	<u>12/99</u>	<u>10/99</u>	<u>9/99</u>	<u>7/99</u>	<u>6/99</u>	<u>4/99</u>	<u>3/99</u>	<u>1/99</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	
	45	42	40	43	40	49	41	50	44	48	
	42	45	49	41	42	38	45	40	42	39	
	13	13	11	16	18	13	14	10	14	13	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

5. I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and groups, and I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so.

	<u>Very</u> <u>Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat</u> <u>Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat</u> <u>Negative</u>	<u>Very</u> <u>Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know</u> <u>Name/</u> <u>Not Sure</u>	
<b>George W. Bush</b>							[145]
September 2002.....	38	25	14	11	12	-	
July 2002.....	40	26	11	11	12	-	
June 2002.....	43	27	11	10	9	-	
April 2002.....	47	25	13	8	7	-	
January 2002.....	53	26	10	7	4	-	
December 2001.....	54	26	9	6	5	-	
June 2001.....	30	23	16	15	15	1	
April 2001.....	36	22	15	13	14	-	
March 2001.....	38	24	14	12	11	1	
January 2001.....	25	25	18	13	17	2	
December 2000.....	23	25	16	13	22	1	
<u>High</u>							
December 2001.....	54	26	9	6	5	-	
<u>Low</u>							
March 2000+.....	19	26	21	15	17	2	

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q.5 (cont'd)

	Very Positive	Somewhat Positive	Neutral	Somewhat Negative	Very Negative	Don't Know Name/ Not Sure	
<b>The Democratic Party</b>							<b>[146/149]</b>
September 2002.....	12	26	30	17	12	3	
July 2002.....	10	29	25	21	13	2	
June 2002.....	10	27	27	18	14	4	
January 2002.....	16	33	23	15	11	2	
December 2001.....	18	30	26	14	9	3	
June 2001.....	15	31	24	17	11	2	
March 2001.....	17	27	24	16	14	2	
January 2001.....	21	26	22	16	13	2	
December 2000.....	23	23	18	16	18	2	
October 2000+.....	20	27	20	15	16	2	
September 2000+.....	23	26	19	17	14	1	
<i>High</i>							
January 2000.....	20	30	23	15	10	2	
<i>Low</i>							
December 1994.....	10	23	25	24	16	2	
<b>The Republican Party</b>							<b>[147/150]</b>
September 2002.....	15	30	26	13	13	3	
July 2002.....	18	25	22	17	14	4	
June 2002.....	17	29	23	16	11	4	
January 2002.....	20	32	24	12	9	3	
December 2001.....	21	36	18	13	9	3	
June 2001.....	13	30	21	19	16	1	
March 2001.....	18	31	21	15	14	1	
January 2001.....	14	30	25	15	14	2	
December 2000.....	18	26	23	14	18	1	
October 2000+.....	14	29	25	16	14	2	
September 2000+.....	14	33	19	20	13	1	
<i>High</i>							
December 2001.....	21	36	18	13	9	3	
<i>Low</i>							
March 1999.....	1	22	23	19	23	2	

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q.5 (cont'd)

	Very Positive	Somewhat Positive	Neutral	Somewhat Negative	Very Negative	Don't Know Name/ Not Sure	
<b>Dick Cheney</b>							<b>[148]</b>
September 2002 *.....	23	27	21	12	12	5	
July 2002.....	24	28	19	10	13	6	
April 2002.....	27	29	22	8	10	4	
January 2002.....	32	30	21	6	5	6	
December 2001.....	36	27	23	3	6	5	
June 2001.....	26	22	22	14	11	5	
April 2001.....	31	21	22	10	9	7	
March 2001.....	30	26	22	8	6	8	
January 2001.....	23	26	26	9	7	9	
December 2000.....	23	26	22	10	11	8	
October 2000+.....	25	24	26	8	9	8	
<i>High</i>							
February 1991+.....	33	33	13	2	2	17	
<i>Low</i>							
July 2000+.....	19	23	26	9	6	17	
<b>Rudy Giuliani</b>							<b>[151]</b>
September 2002 **.....	42	25	16	3	3	11	
December 2001.....	61	23	9	1	1	5	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

6. Now I'd like to read you a list of priorities. Please tell me which ONE you feel is the most important priority for the President and Congress to address this year.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

	9/02	9/01	
Strengthening the economy.....	38	20	<b>[152]</b>
Fighting terrorism.....	30	64	
Dealing with health care costs.....	18	6	
Reforming the education system.....	13	7	
Not sure.....	1	3	

Turning to this year's election...

7. In this November's election for U.S. Congress, do you feel that your representative deserves to be reelected, or do you think it is time to give a new person a chance?

	<u>9/02*</u>	<u>10/00+</u>	<u>9/00+</u>	<u>6/00+</u>	<u>12/99</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>12/97+</u>	<u>10/94+</u>	<u>9/94</u>	
Deserves to be reelected.....	41	50	49	49	42	48	41	39	30	[153]
Give new person a chance.....	42	35	38	39	47	37	45	49	53	
Not sure.....	17	15	13	12	11	15	14	12	17	
			<u>5/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>10/92+</u>	<u>9/92+</u>	
			34	35	34	37	30	31	31	
			50	47	52	47	55	56	56	
			16	18	14	16	15	13	13	
		<u>7/92+</u>	<u>4/92+</u>	<u>2/92+</u>	<u>1/92+</u>	<u>12/91+</u>	<u>10/91+</u>	<u>10/90+</u>	<u>11/89+</u>	
		27	33	37	42	35	40	39	41	
		62	57	52	48	52	48	48	36	
		11	10	11	10	13	12	13	23	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

- 8a. What is your preference for the outcome of this November's<sup>1</sup> congressional elections—a Congress controlled by Republicans or a Congress controlled by Democrats?

	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>12/99</u>	<u>10/99</u>	<u>7/99</u>	<u>6/99</u>	
Republican-controlled Congress.....	42	43	42	44	42	40	39	39	42	[154]
Democrat-controlled Congress.....	42	41	41	40	40	44	41	43	41	
Not sure <sup>2</sup> .....	16	16	17	16	18	16	20	18	17	
		<u>4/99</u>	<u>3/99</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>7/98</u>	<u>6/98</u>	<u>4/98</u>	<u>2/98</u>	
		41	37	41	40	41	39	37	41	
		40	43	43	39	40	40	41	37	
		19	20	16	21	19	21	22	22	
		<u>1/98</u>	<u>12/97</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>7/97</u>	<u>4/97</u>	<u>1/96</u>	<u>12/95</u>	<u>10/94</u>	
		40	41	41	45	44	41	42	44	
		42	37	39	39	38	38	41	38	
		18	22	20	16	18	21	17	18	

<sup>1</sup> In October 1994, the question referred to the 1994 congressional elections; the 1995 and 1996 survey dates referred to the 1996 congressional elections; the 1997 and 1998 dates refer to the 1998 congressional elections.

<sup>2</sup> The volunteered responses "both equal," "neither in control," or "doesn't matter," were reported separately; for purposes of comparative they are combined with "not sure."

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

8b. In this year's election for U.S. House of Representatives, do you plan to vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district? (IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean at this time?

	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>7/98</u>	<u>6/98</u>	<u>4/98</u>	[155]
Vote for the Republican candidate....	37	34	33	33	34	40	34	32	32	30	
Vote for the Democratic candidate....	35	36	35	32	33	43	36	34	36	36	
Depends (VOL).....	12	15	15	19	16	8	14	15	16	18	
Other/neither/won't vote (VOL).....	5	5	3	4	3	2	4	5	6	4	
Not sure.....	11	10	14	12	14	7	12	14	10	12	
		<u>1/98</u>	<u>9/98+</u>	<u>7/98+</u>	<u>6/98+</u>	<u>4/98+</u>	<u>1/98+</u>	<u>10/96+</u>	<u>9/96+</u>	<u>8/20- 21/96+</u>	
		30	35	33	34	30	32	38	36	37	
		36	37	35	37	37	36	39	42	38	
		22	14	16	16	20	22	8	7	11	
		3	2	2	3	1	2	1	2	2	
		9	12	14	10	12	8	14	13	12	
	<u>8/2- 6/96+</u>	<u>7/96+</u>	<u>6/96+</u>	<u>5/96+</u>	<u>3/96</u>	<u>12/95<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>11/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>10/94+</u>	<u>9/94</u>	
	38	37	35	36	36	34	40	39	41	33	
	38	40	40	39	38	36	37	36	36	39	
	10	10	10	9	12	17	6	6	7	9	
	2	1	1	2	3	3	3	5	2	5	
	12	12	14	14	11	10	14	14	14	14	

<sup>1</sup> Prior to March 1996, this question was phrased, "election for U.S. Congress..."

+ Asked only of registered voters.

9a. Thinking about this year's congressional elections, on which ONE of the following issues would you most like to see a congressional candidate to focus? (IF "ALL," ASK:) Well, if you had to choose just one issue, which would you pick?

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO MAKE A CHOICE IN Q.9a.)

9b. And which of these is your second-most important issue for a congressional candidate to focus on?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE OF MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE

	<u>Q.9a Most Important Issue</u>		<u>Q.9a/b COMBINED First/Second Most Important Issues</u>	
Domestic issues such as education and health care.....	43		70	[156-157] >
Economic issues.....	32	CONTINUE	68	
The war on terrorism and foreign policy issues.....	23		60	
Other/depends (VOL).....	1	Skip to Q.10	NA	
Not sure.....	1		NA	

10. Now I'm going to read you two statements. Please tell me which one comes closer to your point of view.

**Statement A:** In a time of war when we have a Republican president, it is much better to have a majority of Republicans in the House and Senate as well to provide the president with the kind of support and unity needed on both the domestic and international fronts. OR

**Statement B:** When issues such as prescription drugs, the environment, and strengthening regulations on business are being debated and we have a Republican president, it is much better to have a majority of Democrats in the House and Senate to provide checks and balances on domestic issues.

	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u> <sup>1</sup>	
<b>Statement A</b> /majority of Republicans better.....	39	38	37	<b>[158]</b>
<b>Statement B</b> /majority of Democrats better.....	49	50	48	
Depends (VOL).....	6	8	9	
Not sure.....	6	4	6	

<sup>1</sup> In June 2002, the phrase "...and strengthening regulations on business..." was *not* included in Statement B.

### Turning to the economy...

11a. How satisfied are you with the state of the U.S. economy today--are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the state of the economy?

	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>1/01</u>	<u>4/00+</u>	<u>Hig h</u> <u>9/98</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>1/96</u>	
Very satisfied.....	2	4	6	4	5	18	29	31	3	<b>[159]</b>
Somewhat satisfied.....	32	42	44	43	47	57	52	55	37	
Somewhat dissatisfied.....	41	39	33	39	32	18	12	10	38	
Very dissatisfied.....	24	14	15	13	15	6	6	3	19	
Not sure.....	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	
		<u>10/99</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>12/97</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>6/97</u>	<u>3/97</u>	
		23	26	27	31	18	13	10	13	
		53	54	55	55	52	52	51	45	
		17	13	12	10	20	23	27	27	
		7	6	5	3	8	10	10	13	
		-	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	
	<u>12/96</u>	<u>9/96</u>	<u>6/96</u>	<u>5/96+</u>	<u>3/96</u>	<u>1/96</u>	<u>7/95</u>	<u>4/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	
	9	7	5	4	3	3	4	4	4	
	51	49	43	43	39	37	39	40	41	
	27	30	32	38	37	38	35	37	38	
	11	12	18	14	19	19	21	18	15	
	2	2	2	1	2	3	1	1	2	

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.



11b. During the next twelve months, do you think that the nation's economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u> <sup>1</sup>	<u>10/98</u> <sup>+</sup>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>4/97</u>	<u>1/96</u>	
Economy will get better.....	39	41	50	50	36	28	17	19	19	21	[160]
Economy will get worse.....	18	20	13	15	25	29	24	22	22	21	
Economy will stay about the same.....	39	37	32	32	34	37	54	53	57	52	
Not sure.....	4	2	5	3	5	6	5	6	2	6	
	<u>7/95</u>	<u>4/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	
	20	24	31	31	28	28	27	29	44	43	
	21	23	17	24	24	17	21	16	16	19	
	54	50	46	40	44	52	49	52	36	34	
	5	3	6	5	4	3	3	3	4	4	
	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
	21	23	20	23	33	39	50	53	32	31	
	27	24	29	27	21	15	9	10	20	24	
	50	51	48	47	44	43	39	35	45	40	
	2	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	3	5	

<sup>1</sup> Prior to April 2001, this question was phrased, "During the next year..."

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

11c. In terms of the country's economic condition, which of the following statements comes closest to your point of view? \*\*

The country is currently in an economic recession and will come out of it in the next twelve months.....	37	[161]
The country is currently in an economic recession and will continue to be in the next twelve months.....	43	
The country is not currently in an economic recession but will be within the next twelve months.....	5	
The country is not currently in an economic recession and will not be in the next twelve months.....	11	
Not sure.....	4	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

12. When it comes to you and your family, have you been more affected by the decline in the stock market, or more affected by the decline in economic conditions such as job layoffs and loss in overtime? If neither has affected you and your family please just say so.

	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	
Decline in the stock market.....	35	31	[162]
Decline in economic conditions.....	35	38	
Neither.....	25	28	
Both equally (VOL).....	4	3	
Not sure.....	1	-	

13. I'm going to read you two statements about the tax cuts that President Bush enacted last year. Please tell me which one comes closer to your point of view.

**Statement A:** The tax cuts mostly benefited the wealthy, gave little to most American families, and have caused budget deficits that are hurting the economy. OR

**Statement B:** The tax cuts benefited most Americans by returning their money, have helped hold up the economy after September eleventh, and will be an important part of our long-term economic recovery. \*

<b>Statement A</b> /Tax cuts are hurting the economy.....	45	<b>[163]</b>
<b>Statement B</b> /Tax cuts have helped the economy.....	46	
Depends (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	6	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

14. Do you think that the terrorist attacks of September eleventh had a major effect, a minor effect, or no real effect on the state of the economy? \*

Major effect.....	81	<b>[164]</b>
Minor effect.....	16	
No real effect.....	3	
Not sure.....	-	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

15. Which of the following statements comes closer to your point of view on the issue of immigration and its effect on the national economy?

**Statement A:** Legal immigration has a positive effect on the national economy, because immigrants fill jobs in our economy that are otherwise hard to fill, and they start new businesses. OR

**Statement B:** Legal immigration has a negative effect on the national economy, because immigrants take jobs from American workers and are a drain on government services.

	<u>9/02**</u>	<u>6/97</u>	
<b>Statement A</b> /legal immigration has positive effect.....	49	44	<b>[165]</b>
<b>Statement B</b> /legal immigration has negative effect.....	44	49	
Some of both (VOL).....	4	4	
Not sure/other.....	3	3	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

### Turning to the stock market...

16. Please tell me whether the following statement applies to you personally: "I have at least five thousand dollars invested in mutual funds or stocks."

	<u>9/02</u>		<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	
Applies.....	55	<b>CONTINUE</b>	53	49	49	49	<b>[166]</b>
Does not apply.....	43	<b>Skip to Q.18a</b>	44	47	49	49	
Not sure.....	2		3	4	2	2	
				<u>4/01</u>	<u>3/01</u>	<u>1/01</u>	
				52	49	51	
				46	49	45	
				2	2	4	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY HAVE AT LEAST \$5,000 INVESTED IN Q.16.)

- 17a. At this time, are you confident or not that confident about investing in the stock market?

	<u>9/02</u>		<u>7/02</u>	
Confident.....	32	<b>Skip to Q.18a</b>	31	<b>[167]</b>
Not that confident.....	64	<b>CONTINUE</b>	65	
Not sure.....	4	<b>Skip to Q.18a</b>	4	

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY "NOT THAT CONFIDENT" IN Q.17a.)**

17b. And when you say you are not that confident, is that because of general economic and market conditions, or is it due to a lack of confidence in corporate financial disclosures and the current scandals?

	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	
General economic and market conditions.....	32	39	<b>[168]</b>
Lack of confidence in corporate financial disclosures.....	39	40	
Both equally (VOL).....	26	19	
Neither (VOL).....	2	2	
Not sure.....	1	-	

18a. As you may know, President Bush recently signed into law a measure that stiffens criminal penalties against executives who commit corporate fraud and sets new regulatory requirements for accounting firms and corporate executives. With this new law in effect and enforcement stepped up, do you think that enough will have been done to respond to the issue of corporate corruption, or should more be done? \*

Enough will have been done.....	24	<b>[169]</b>
More should be done.....	71	
Going too far (VOL).....	-	
Not sure.....	5	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

18b. As you may know, President Bush recently signed into law a measure that stiffens criminal penalties against executives who commit corporate fraud and sets new regulatory requirements for accounting firms and corporate executives. With this new law in effect and enforcement stepped up, do you feel that this will make a real difference or will not make a real difference in preventing corporate corruption? \*\*

Yes, will make a difference.....	50	<b>[170]</b>
No, will not make a difference.....	44	
Not sure.....	6	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

**Changing subjects...**

19. Who do you think poses the greater threat to the United States--Saddam Hussein or Osama bin Laden? \*

Saddam Hussein poses greater threat.....	40	<b>[171]</b>
Osama bin Laden poses greater threat.....	27	
Both equally (VOL).....	28	
Not sure.....	5	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

20. Do you consider the United States to be in a state of war? \*\*

Yes, United States is in a state of war.....	58	[172]
No, United States is not in a state of war.....	40	
Not sure.....	2	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

21. When it comes to taking military action in the war against terrorism, do you think that most of the military action that needs to be taken is still ahead of us, or that most of the military action has been taken and is already behind us?

	9/02*	4/02	1/02	
Most military action still ahead of us.....	74	75	64	[173]
Most military action is already behind us.....	18	18	26	
Depends (VOL).....	4	3	5	
Not sure.....	4	4	5	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

22. How big of a terrorism threat do you think the United States faces at home in the next week--a very big threat, a fairly big threat, a medium threat, a small threat, or no real threat at all?

Very big threat.....	8	[174]
Fairly big threat.....	12	
Medium threat.....	34	
Small threat.....	26	
No real threat at all.....	17	
Not sure.....	3	

23a. Thinking about the United States' response to the September eleventh terrorist attacks, would you say that Al Qaeda has or has not paid a serious price for its role in the attacks? \*\*

Has paid a serious price.....	30	[175]
Has not paid a serious price.....	63	
Not sure.....	7	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

23b. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statement: The terrorists responsible for the September eleventh attacks have their next attack planned or in the works. \*

Strongly agree.....	56	[176]
Somewhat agree.....	28	
Somewhat disagree.....	7	
Strongly disagree.....	4	
Not sure.....	5	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

23c. Which of the following statements comes closer to your point of view?

**Statement A:** Since the September eleventh attacks and our response to them, more people around the world have the desire and capability to harm America. OR

**Statement B:** Since the September eleventh attacks and our response to them, fewer people around the world have the desire and capability to harm America. \*\*

<b>Statement A</b> /more people have desire/capability to harm America.....	45	<b>[177]</b>
<b>Statement B</b> /fewer people have desire/capability to harm America.....	41	
Depends (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	8	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

24a. Do you think that the United States will ever capture or kill international terrorist Osama bin Laden, or not?

	<u>9/02**</u>	<u>7/02<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	<u>9/01</u>	
Yes, will capture or kill.....	35	43	51	66	73	<b>[178]</b>
No, will never capture or kill.....	43	47	33	23	15	
Already killed (VOL).....	8	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Not sure.....	14	10	16	11	12	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

<sup>1</sup> Prior to September 2002, "already killed" was not included as a possible response.

24b. Do you think that capturing or killing Osama bin Laden is necessary to successfully conclude the war on terrorism, or not?

	<u>9/02**</u>	<u>6/02<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	
Capturing or killing is necessary.....	33	41	49	44	<b>[179]</b>
Capturing or killing is NOT necessary.....	62	54	46	52	
Not sure.....	5	5	5	4	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

<sup>1</sup> Prior to September 2002, this question was phrased, "...to successfully conclude the campaign in Afghanistan."

25a. In your opinion, would you say that the war on terrorism has succeeded in disrupting international terrorism a great deal, quite a bit, just some, very little, or not at all? \*

A great deal.....	18	<b>[180]</b>
Quite a bit.....	25	
Just some.....	36	
Very little.....	15	
Not at all.....	4	
Not sure.....	2	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

25b. Do you think that, as a country, we are more safe, about as safe, or less safe than we were before September eleventh?

More safe.....	38	<b>[208]</b>
About as safe.....	41	
Less safe.....	20	
Not sure.....	1	

- 25c. How much confidence do you have in the ability of the United States' intelligence agencies to anticipate future terrorist attacks--a great deal of confidence, quite a bit, just some, or very little confidence?

	<u>9/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	
A great deal of confidence.....	11	13	11	17	[209]
Quite a bit of confidence.....	29	26	29	31	
Just some confidence.....	40	40	44	37	
Very little confidence.....	19	19	16	13	
Not sure.....	1	2	-	2	

- 25d. On most days, do you personally worry about the threat of terrorism affecting you or your family?

Yes, worry about the threat of terrorism.....	24	[210]
No, do not worry about the threat of terrorism.....	76	
Not sure.....	-	

26. As you may know, President Bush has announced plans to create a new cabinet-level Department of Homeland Security. This department will consolidate many activities dealing with security matters that are currently in several different departments. Do you feel that this will make a real difference or will not make a real difference in preventing future terrorist attacks in America?

	<u>9/02**</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	
Yes, will make a difference.....	54	56	61	[211]
No, will not make a difference.....	37	36	29	
Not sure.....	9	8	10	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

27. How likely do you think it is that the United States will be the target of another major terrorist attack at home or overseas in the next few months--very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, or very unlikely?

	<u>9/02**</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>4/02</u>	<u>1/02</u>	<u>12/01</u>	
Very likely.....	34	44	45	44	45	[212]
Somewhat likely.....	48	40	38	37	40	
Somewhat unlikely.....	13	10	11	11	10	
Very unlikely.....	4	4	4	5	3	
Not sure.....	1	2	2	3	2	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 28a. Do you think that in its efforts against terrorism, the United States has or has not violated the civil liberties and rights of people living in the United States?

Yes, has violated civil liberties.....	29	<b>CONTINUE</b>	[213]
No, has not violated civil liberties.....	67	<b>Skip to Q.29</b>	
Not sure.....	4		

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY "YES" IN Q.28a.)**

28b. And do you think that the United States was or was not justified in any of its actions that may have violated people's civil liberties and rights?

Was justified.....	51	<b>[214]</b>
Was not justified.....	36	
Not sure.....	13	

29. Which of the following statements comes closer to your point of view?

**Statement A:** Since the September eleventh attacks and with the threat of terrorism, we should reduce the number of immigrants let into the country. OR

**Statement B:** Since the September eleventh attacks and with the threat of terrorism, we should do a better job of screening immigrants let into the country but not reduce the overall number. \*

<b>Statement A</b> /reduce number of immigrants let in.....	36	<b>[215]</b>
<b>Statement B</b> /do a better job at screening immigrants....	62	
Depends (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	-	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

**Changing subjects...**

30a. Do you think that the United States should or should not take military action to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq?

Should take military action.....	58	<b>[216]</b>
Should not take military action.....	30	
Not sure.....	12	

30b. Do you consider Saddam Hussein a serious threat to the United States?

Yes, Saddam Hussein is a serious threat...	77	<b>[217]</b>
No, Saddam Hussein is not a serious threat.....	19	
Not sure.....	4	

31. Do you think that removing Saddam Hussein from power would or would not reduce the threat of terrorism in the world? \*

Would reduce threat of terrorism.....	47	<b>[218]</b>
Would not reduce threat of terrorism.....	39	
Would not make a difference either way (VOL).....	8	
Not sure.....	6	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 32a. In order for the United States to be successful in a war against Iraq, which ONE of the following statements comes closer to your view?

**Statement A:** The United States will be able to use a small number of ground troops supplemented by United States' air power and Iraqi opposition forces. OR

**Statement B:** The United States will need to commit as many as two hundred thousand ground troops in addition to United States' air power and Iraqi opposition forces.

<b>Statement A</b> /small number of ground troops.....	25	<b>[219]</b>
<b>Statement B</b> /200,000 ground troops.....	62	
Depends (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	10	

- 32b. Do you think that the United States should or should not take military action against Iraq and Saddam Hussein if it means committing as many as two hundred thousand American troops?

	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	<u>6/02</u>	<u>4/02</u> <sup>1</sup>	
Should take action.....	49	54	41	57	<b>[220]</b>
Should not take action.....	35	31	40	28	
Depends (VOL).....	7	8	9	8	
Not sure.....	9	7	10	7	

<sup>1</sup> In April 2002, this question was phrased, "Do you think that the United States should or should not take military action against Iraq and Saddam Hussein?"

33. Do you think that the United States should delay taking military action against Iraq and Saddam Hussein until the war on terrorism has stabilized, or do you think that the United States should take military action against Iraq even as the war on terrorism continues?

United States should delay military action....	35	<b>[221]</b>
United States should take military action.....	50	
United States should never take military action in Iraq (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	10	

34. Which of the following positions do you agree with more?

**Statement A:** The United States should seek a resolution from the United Nations to take military action against Iraq because it is better to have international support. OR

**Statement B:** The United States should not seek a resolution from the United Nations to take military action against Iraq because it only gives Saddam Hussein a chance to delay more.

<b>Statement A</b> /United States should seek UN resolution.....	67	<b>[222]</b>
<b>Statement B</b> /United States should not seek UN resolution.....	27	
Depends (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	4	



35. Which of the following positions do you agree with more?

**Statement A:** The President should get congressional approval before taking any action against Saddam Hussein because Congress should have a role in the decision. OR

**Statement B:** The President should take actions necessary to remove Saddam Hussein without getting congressional approval because a congressional debate might make it more difficult to achieve the objectives.

<b>Statement A</b> /should get congressional approval.....	68	<b>[223]</b>
<b>Statement B</b> /should take actions without congressional approval.....	28	
Depends (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	2	

36. I'm going to read you some factors people might consider in deciding whether to support the United States in taking military action to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq. For each factor, please tell me whether it is something that would make you much more likely to support U.S. military action, somewhat more likely to support it, somewhat less likely to support it, much less likely to support it, or would this factor not affect your opinion either way? \*\*

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY MUCH MORE LIKELY

	Much More Likely	Somewhat More Likely	Somewhat Less Likely	Much Less Likely	Would Not Affect Opinion Either Way	Not Sure	
Strong evidence exists that Iraq is developing biological or chemical weapons.....	60	22	4	4	8	2	<b>[228]</b>
Strong evidence exists that Iraq is developing nuclear weapons or is about to develop nuclear weapons.....	58	24	4	5	7	2	<b>[226]</b>
Strong evidence exists that Al Qaeda terrorists are based in Iraq.....	53	25	5	4	11	2	<b>[224]</b>
The Bush administration believes that Iraq is about to or is already developing nuclear weapons, but does not have conclusive proof.....	35	24	13	11	15	2	<b>[230]</b>
This war would require sending a large number of U.S. ground troops into combat in Iraq.....	28	19	17	18	14	4	<b>[227]</b>
No allies are willing to take part in the military action.....	17	18	23	24	15	3	<b>[225]</b>
President Bush decides NOT to ask Congress for its approval of military action.....	17	17	21	27	16	2	<b>[229]</b>

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

37a. If the United States had evidence that Saddam Hussein is building or is about to build nuclear weapons, do you think that we should or should not take military action to remove him from power?

Should take military action.....	80	<b>[231]</b>
Should not take military action.....	13	
Not sure.....	7	

- 37b. Do you think that United States' policy should be to attack groups and countries if we have evidence that they are preparing to commit terrorist acts, or to not attack any country or group until they actually commit a terrorist act? \*

Should attack if we have evidence.....	67	[232]
Should not attack until they commit a terrorist act.....	22	
Depends (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	5	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

#### Turning now to the anniversary of September eleventh...

- 38a. As we approach the one-year anniversary of September eleventh, please tell me which statement better describes you The effects of September eleventh are fresh and are something I think and worry about regularly, OR While not forgotten, the effects of September eleventh are fading away and are not something I think and worry about regularly.

	<u>9/02</u>	<u>7/02</u>	
Effects are fresh.....	42	43	[233]
Effects are fading away.....	54	52	
Neither (VOL).....	3	4	
Not sure.....	1	1	

- 38b. Do you think that things in America are back to normal, are almost back to normal, still have a long way to go before being back to normal, or will never return to normal?

	<u>9/02</u>	<u>1/02<sup>1</sup></u>	
Back to normal.....	4	5	[234]
Almost back to normal.....	28	35	
Still have a long way to go.....	34	44	
Will never return to normal.....	33	15	
Not sure.....	1	1	

<sup>1</sup> In January 2002, this question was phased, "...or are still very shaky and will never return to normal?"

39. From this year on, do you think that September eleventh should be observed as a national holiday like Memorial Day and Veterans Day? \*\*

Yes, should be observed as a holiday.....	47	[235]
No, should not be observed as a holiday....	47	
Not sure.....	6	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 40a. When it comes to the positive ways in which our country has changed since September eleventh, which one or two of the following would you say is the best change? \*

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Americans becoming more united.....	34	[236]
The country becoming more alert to potential threats.....	33	>
Americans expressing a more patriotic attitude.....	24	
Americans renewing support for our military.....	17	
Politicians working together in the best interests of America.....	12	
Americans having more respect for elected officials.....	3	
All (VOL).....	14	
None (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	1	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 40b. Thinking about the negative ways in which we have changed, which one or two of the following would you say is the worst change? **(ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES. IF "ALL," ASK:)** Well, if you had to choose just one or two, which would they be? \*

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Living with a new sense of vulnerability and fear.....	36	[237]
Being more suspicious of the people around us.....	31	>
Losing confidence in the economy.....	28	
Losing some of our civil liberties.....	16	
Being inconvenienced while traveling.....	11	
All (VOL).....	6	
None (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	1	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

41. Overall, do you think that the changes that have occurred in the United States since September eleventh have been more good than bad or more bad than good?

More good than bad.....	70	[238]
More bad than good.....	21	
Not sure.....	9	

42. Do you think that the increased searches of airline passengers is inconvenient but necessary, or intrusive and unnecessary? \*

Inconvenient but necessary.....	92	[239]
Intrusive and unnecessary.....	6	
Not sure.....	2	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

43a. Which ONE of the following professional sports do you have the most respect for? \*\*

*THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE*

Golf.....	21	<b>[240-241]</b>
Football.....	19	
Auto racing.....	11	
Baseball.....	10	
Tennis.....	9	
Basketball.....	8	
Hockey.....	6	
Boxing.....	1	
All equally (VOL).....	2	
None (VOL).....	11	
Not sure.....	2	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

43b. And which ONE of these same professional sports do you have the least amount of respect for? \*\*

*THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE*

Boxing.....	27	<b>[242-243]</b>
Baseball.....	23	
Golf.....	9	
Football.....	7	
Hockey.....	7	
Auto racing.....	6	
Basketball.....	6	
Tennis.....	5	
All equally (VOL).....	2	
None (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	4	

\*\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

44. Thinking back over the past year, which of the following things has had the biggest impact on you? \*

*THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE*

The September eleventh attacks and the war on terrorism.....	37	<b>[244]</b>
The decline in economic conditions.....	25	
The stock market decline and corporate corruption....	18	
The sexual abuse scandal in the Catholic Church.....	9	
All equally (VOL).....	8	
None (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	1	

\* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

**FACTUALS:** Now I'm going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1a. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you live now, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Yes, registered.....	86	<b>CONTINUE</b>	<b>[246]</b>
No, not registered.....	13	<b>Skip to Q.F2</b>	
Not sure.....	1		

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE REGISTERED TO VOTE IN Q.F1a.)**

F1b. Using a scale from 0 to 10, please tell me how interested you are in voting in this November's Congressional elections. If you are very interested in voting, pick a number closer to "8," "9," or "10." If you are less interested in voting, use a number closer to "0," "1," or "2." You may choose any number from one to ten.

0, less interested in voting.....	2	<b>[247-248]</b>
1.....	2	
2.....	2	
3.....	2	
4.....	5	
5.....	3	
6.....	4	
7.....	10	
8.....	21	
9.....	34	
10, very interested in voting.....	15	
Not sure.....	-	

F2. Are you currently employed?

**(IF CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:)** What type of work do you do?

**(IF NOT CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:)** Are you a student, a homemaker, retired, or unemployed and looking for work?

<u>Currently Employed</u>		
Professional/ manager.....	20	<b>[249-250]</b>
White-collar worker.....	20	
Blue-collar worker.....	19	
Farmer, rancher.....	-	
<u>Not Currently Employed</u>		
Student.....	2	
Homemaker.....	9	
Retired.....	23	
Unemployed, looking for work.....	4	
Other.....	-	
Not sure.....	3	

- F3. Did you happen to vote in the 2000 presidential election? **(IF "YES," ASK:)** For whom did you vote-- George W. Bush, the Republican, Al Gore, the Democrat, Ralph Nader, the Green Party candidate, or Pat Buchanan, the Reform Party candidate?

<b>Yes, Voted</b>	<b>[261]</b>
Voted for George W. Bush.....	44
Voted for Al Gore.....	28
Voted for Ralph Nader.....	2
Voted for Pat Buchanan.....	-
Voted for other candidate (VOL).....	2
Not sure who voted for (VOL).....	1
<b>No, Did Not Vote</b> .....	17
No, was too young to vote (VOL).....	1
<b>Not Sure/Refused</b> .....	5

- F4. How old are you? **(IF "REFUSED," ASK:)** Well, would you tell me which age group you belong to?

18-24.....	8	50-54.....	8	<b>[262-263]</b>
25-29.....	8	55-59.....	8	
30-34.....	10	60-64.....	7	
35-39.....	8	65-69.....	7	
40-44.....	11	70-74.....	5	
45-49.....	11	75 and over.....	7	
		Refused.....	2	

- F5. What is the last grade that you completed in school?

Grade school.....	-	<b>[264-265]</b>
Some high school.....	4	
High school graduate.....	29	
Some college, no degree.....	19	
Vocational training/2-year college.....	12	
4-year college/bachelor's degree.....	20	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	3	
2 or 3 years' postgraduate work/master's degree....	9	
Doctoral/law degree.....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

- F6. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or something else? **(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:)** Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN." IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:)** Do you think of yourself as closer to the Democratic Party, closer to the Republican Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly independent?

Strong Democrat.....	17	<b>[266]</b>
Not very strong Democrat.....	11	
Independent/lean Democrat.....	9	
Strictly independent.....	20	
Independent/lean Republican.....	10	
Not very strong Republican.....	8	
Strong Republican.....	19	
Other.....	3	
Not sure/nothing.....	3	

F7. Thinking about your general approach to issues, do you consider yourself to be liberal, moderate, or conservative?

Liberal.....	24	<b>[267]</b>
Moderate.....	36	
Conservative.....	34	
Not sure.....	6	

F8. Are you currently single and never married, married, separated, widowed, or divorced?

Single.....	18	<b>[268]</b>
Married.....	59	
Separated.....	3	
Widowed.....	7	
Divorced.....	10	
Other (VOL).....	1	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

F9a. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	43	<b>CONTINUE</b>	<b>[269]</b>
Catholic.....	31		
Jewish.....	2		
Muslim.....	-	<b>Skip to Q.F10</b>	
Other.....	16		
None.....	4		
Not sure/refused.....	4		

**(ASK ONLY OF PROTESTANTS IN Q.F9a.)**

F9b. Would you describe yourself as either a fundamentalist or an evangelical Christian, or would you not describe yourself that way?

Fundamentalist/evangelical.....	14	<b>[270]</b>
Neither fundamentalist nor evangelical.....	26	
Not sure.....	3	
Non-Protestants (Q.F9a).....	57	

F10. Are you a member of a labor union? **(IF "NO," ASK:)** Is anyone else in this household a member of a labor union?

Labor union member.....	9	<b>[271]</b>
Labor union household.....	6	
Non-union household.....	83	
Not sure.....	2	

F11a. Are you from a Hispanic or Spanish-speaking background?

Yes, Hispanic.....	7	<b>[272]</b>
No, not Hispanic.....	90	
Not sure/refused.....	3	

F11b. What is your race--white, black, Asian, or something else?

White.....	81	[273]
Black.....	7	
Asian.....	2	
Other.....	3	
Hispanic (VOL).....	4	
Not sure/refused.....	3	

F12. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than ten thousand dollars, between ten thousand dollars and twenty thousand dollars, between twenty thousand dollars and thirty thousand dollars, between thirty thousand dollars and forty thousand dollars, between forty thousand dollars and fifty thousand dollars, between fifty thousand dollars and seventy-five thousand dollars, between seventy-five thousand dollars and one hundred thousand dollars, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	3	[274]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	8	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	10	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	12	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	9	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	19	
Between \$75,000 and \$100,000.....	13	
More than \$100,000.....	11	
Not sure/refused.....	15	